First Plenary Session of the Paris Conference on Viet Nam (Jan. 25, 1969)

STATEMENT BY Mr. TRAN BUU KIEM

Head of the Delegation of the South Viet Nam National Front For Liberation

AT this first plenary session of the Paris Conference on Viet Nam, I wish to express, on behalf of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam NFL, our sincere gratitude to President Charles de Gaulle and the French Government for all facilities for this conference and their friendly welcome to the delegation of the South Viet Nam NFL. I also sincerely thank the French people and the peoples throughout the world for their warm approval and strong support to the legitimate struggle of the South Viet Nam people.

The Paris Conference on Viet Nam is a quadripartite conference comprising: the Delegation of the South Viet Nam NFL, the Delegation of the Government of the DRVN, the Delegation of the US Government and the Delegation of the Saigon administration. Representing all patriotic forces in South Viet Nam who over the past ten years have been putting up a heroic resistance to, and inflicting reverses on, the US aggressors and their lackeys, this Delegation is participating, with an independent and equal status, in this conference in all earnestness to seek a reasonable political settlement to the South Viet Nam problem, consistent with the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people and the interests of the American people, and the demand of the peace- and justice-loving peoples thoughout the world.

In order to achieve such a settlement, it is necessary to make a clear appraisal of the South Viet Nam situation and to find a sound basis consonant with the reality. And what is the reality ?

Everyone knowledgeable about Viet Nam is aware that fighting foreign aggression in defence of the Fatherland is the thousand-year-old tradition of the Viet Nam nation of which South Viet Nam is an indivisible part.

As a result of the victory of the Vietnamese people over foreign aggression, the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam were signed. These accords formally recognize the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam.

As regards South Viet Nam, their spirit and letter makes it unmistakable that South Viet Nam is only a temporary regrouping zone and that Viet Nam must be reunified by nation-wide free general elections stipulated for 1956. They guarantee democratic liberties for the South Viet Nam people, prohibit terrorism and reprisals against patriots, former members of the resistance, ban foreign military reinforcement of any kind and installation of foreign military bases in South Viet Nam.

The representative of the U.S. Government at the Geneva Conference on Viet Nam had committed himself not to disturb their implementation. However, this undertaking has proved to be only a fraud to cover up U.S. criminal schemes: during the past 14 years, the U.S Government has been unceasingly sabotaging the Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam, undermining the reunification of Viet Nam, attempting to perpetuate the partition of the country, trying to occupy South Viet Nam and turn it into a U.S. neo-colony and military base, in an all-round effort to make South Viet Nam a springboard to conquer the whole of Viet-Nam and to stamp out the national liberation movement in South-East Asia.

U.S policy is utterly perfidious and barbarous. The United States has installed in South Viet Nam a most ferocious and blood-thirsty puppet rule as an instrument to suppress the South Viet Nam people's aspirations for peace, independence, democracy and unity.

On U.S. orders, the dictatorial fascist puppet regime has been resorting to unprecedentedly savage and inhuman killing, terror and torture against former resistance members as well as some millions of innocent people in South Viet Nam. It has grabbed back land previously distributed

to the peasants by revolutionary power, abolished all democratic liberties in the hope of undoing all achievements which the South Viet Nam people gained with their blood. Anyone who stands for peace, independence and unity, anyone who aspires for democratic liberties and the improvement of the living conditions, regardless of political tendency, religion and social background, is termed "communist" and savagely murdered by the US and the puppet administration.

The US and its lackeys thought that by their monstrous brutality they could break the will of the South Vietnam people for independence and freedom. But, they made a big mistake.

Since the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam were signed, the South Viet Nam people together with the whole country have been resolutely struggling for their strict implementation. As the United States and its lackeys have not only refused to abide by the Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam but also used the force of arms to savagely repress the South Viet Nam people, the South Viet Nam people have had to fight back.

Since the end of 1959, "simultaneous uprisings" have erupted in the Mekong delta and spread throughout South Viet Nam. Peasants whose land was taken away and whose life was confined in "prosperity zones" and "agrovilles", former resistance members who were being rounded up, Buddhists, Catholics, Cao Dai and Hoa Hao believers victims of persecution, and mountainous people driven away from their home and in dire need of food... all rose up with only hoes, knives, rifles as weapons against the domination of the US and the puppet administration, breaking free from the enemy's grip, wresting back the right to live, saving their homeland and families. In the cities, workers, businessmen, intellectuals, students also joined the movement.

Born amidst this revolutionary upheaval, the South Viet Nam NFL has rallied under its lofty banner all segments of the South Viet Nam people regardless of age, sex, nationality, political tendency or religion.

The Political Programme of the South Viet Nam NFL has set in unequivocal term the following task for the fight against U.S aggression, for national salvation: unite the entire people, resolutely defeat the U.S imperialists' war of aggression, overthrow their lackeys, the puppet administration, form a broad democratic national union government, build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous South Viet Nam and ultimately achieve peaceful national reunification.

As the Programme pays due regard to the sacred obligations toward the Fatherland and the legitimate interests of the entire people, it has been warmly welcomed by the people from all walks of life in South Viet Nam, and has been powerfully impelling forward the national liberation revolution there.

Frightened by this movement, the United States launched the "special war" against our people, making use of hundreds of thousands of mercenaries of the Saigon administration under the direct command of U.S. advisers.

This strategy, however, was unable to quench the flames of the South Viet Nam people's struggle, and the United States had to "change horses midstream", snuffing out the life of its two main quislings, Ngo Dinh Diem and Ngo Dinh Nhu, discarding the first Saigon puppet regime created by the United States. This event marked the first setback of U.S. colonialism, and revealed the true nature of the U.S aggressors and the Diem-Nhu traitorous puppet administration.

When "the special war" was completely defeated, and as the Saigon puppet regime was facing total collapse, the U.S directly roaded in, and deployed en masse half a million of its expeditionary troops, in a "local war" against our people, a colonialist war of an unheard-of scale. It also escalated its action by waging a "war of destruction" against North Viet Nam with its air force, navy and artillery, thus piling up crimes against the people of both zones of our country.

The purpose of the U.S. war against South Viet Nam is not only to conquer it, but also to use it as "testing ground" for its most barbarous weapons and war means.

U.S. aggression constitutes the greatest crime against the Vietnamese people, the American people and the peoples of the world. It is also the biggest blunder in U.S. people policy. The U.S. has failed to bring the 14 million strong South Viet Nam into submission. The U.S. thought it could by extending the war to North Viet Nam, make good its failure in South Viet Nam and impair the monolithic unity of the 31 million Vietnamese in their resistance against foreign aggression. But reality has been bitterly disappointing for the aggressor who has been meeting with setback after setback, with condemnation at home and the strongest opposition ever abroad. That the U.S. war in Viet Nam is a losing one is now left in no doubt. The longer it pursues this unjust war the heavier defeat it will sustain.

As far as they are concerned, the South Viet Nam people deeply cherish peace, and love to live in freedom and independence in their country. As the United States is the aggressor in Viet Nam,

we have to resist it to defend our country. There is no alternative! We have justice on our side whereas the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys fight for an unjust cause. Our just cause of national liberation has been promoted to the highest degree by the strength of the 14 million South Vietnamese and has been enlisting ever greater sympathy and support from the people of the whole Viet Nam, from the peace- and justice-loving peoples throughout the world, as well as from millions of people in the U.S. We have foiled the U.S. "special war", we are now defeating its "local war" and shall surely win final victory.

If the U.S. wants to avoid bitterer defeat and achieve an honourable peace, it must stop its aggression, withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops from South Viet Nam and let the South Viet Nam people settle themselves their own internal affairs without foreign interference. This is only the logic of things and an eager demand of our people, of the American people and of the peoples of the world.

In its war of aggression against South Viet Nam, the U.S. Government has been stubbornly trying to maintain the Saigon administration as an instrument and screen for its neo-colonialism. To put on the puppets "legal, constitutional" face, the U.S. staged an illegal and rigged "election", under the control of over one million U.S. puppet and satellite troops. However, U.S.-puppet tricks, bayonets, guillotines, prisons and all other fascist methods have been unable to check the continuous decline of the U.S.-installed puppet administration.

The present Thieu-Ky-Huong clique, like Diem-Nhu in the past, are quislings, dictators and militarists. They lend the United States a hand in daily massacring the people, destroying the country, demolishing numerous cultural monuments of the nation, hurting the dignity and sentiments of the people, depraving the social life of the areas controlled by the U.S. and its puppet regime. Over the past 14 years, not a single family in South Viet Nam has been spared sufferings and mourning. As a U.S. instrument in the "local war", the Thieu-Ky-Huong clique has proved most bellicose; they are obstinately clinging to the U.S. war and thwarting the people's aspirations for independence and peace. Therefore, people from all walks of life in South Viet Nam are determined to fight against them. In the cities, in spite of ferocious repression, the people's movement is tumultuously rising, struggling for the replacement of Thieu-Ky-Huong and the establishment of a "cabinet for the restoration of peace", a cabinet who is sincerely anxious to negotiate at the quadripartite conference with the NFL as an independent and equal party fully qualified to solve all South Viet Nam problems, in order to find a political settlement bringing independence, peace and neutrality to South Viet Nam on the basis of the principles of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam. These are most legitimate and pressing demands which also spell out that the present Thieu-Ky-Huong administration does not represent anyone.

Symbolizing the great unity of the whole South Viet Nam people, the South Viet Nam NFL has been organizing and leading them in their successful fight against the U.S. aggressors and their agents. The Front's judicious policies and lines are approved and supported by all sections of the South Viet Nam people, including many members of the Saigon administration and army. It possesses powerful political and military forces, it has liberated four-fifths of the South Viet Nam territory with a 11 million population. It has set up through democratic elections people's power almost everywhere. It is actually a democratic administration. It enjoys great prestige in the country and in the international arena. It is the authentic representative of the South Viet Nam people, commanding a decisive voice and full competence in the settlement of all problems regarding South Viet Nam. If the U.S. Government really wants a political solution to the South Viet Nam issue, it must engage in serious talk with the NFL.

In fact, because of its setbacks in the war of aggression in South Viet Nam and in the war of destruction in North Viet Nam, the U.S. was forced to unconditionally stop its bombing raids on the entire territory of the DRVN and to sit at the conference table with the representatives of the South Viet Nam NFL. At this conference, we are prepared to discuss a reasonable political solution to the South Viet Nam problem. We have made public our position on such a solution in the Nov. 3, 1968 statement of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam NFL. That is:

1- South Viet Nam is resolved to struggle for the achievement of its sacred rights, namely independence, democracy, peace, neutrality, prosperity, and ultimate peaceful reunification of the country.

2. The U.S. imperialists must put an end to their war of aggression against Viet Nam, withdraw all their troops and the troops of their satellites and all war means from South Viet Nam, and remove all U.S. military bases in South Viet Nam.

3. The internal affairs of South Viet Nam must be settled by the South Viet Nam people themselves in accordance with the Political Programme

of the South Viet Nam NFL, without foreign interference. A broad democratic national union government must be established, and free general elections must be held in South Viet Nam.

4. The re-unification of Viet Nam will be decided by the people in the two zones of Viet Nam, step by step, by peaceful means and on the basis of consultations and agreements between the two zones, free from outside intervention.

5. South Viet Nam will pursue a foreign policy of peace and neutrality: no military alliance in any form with foreign countries, establishment of friendly relations with all countries on the five principles of peaceful coexistence. Neighbourly relations will be set up with the Kingdom of Cambodia on the basis of the respect for her independence, sovereignty, neutrality and territorial integrity within her present borders and with Laos on the basis of respect for the 1962 Geneva Agreements concerning that country.

Our position is just, correct, conforming to sentiment and reason and is aimed at a peaceful settlement of the Viet Nam problem. It is consistent with our people's legitimate and inviolable rights and with world peace and security. It is enjoying the full support of the South Vietnamese people, of the entire Vietnamese people. The Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces, consisting of patriots including a great number of personalities, intellectuals, religious men, industrialists, businessmen, interprise owners, students, civil servants and Saigon army officers in South Viet Nam also fully approve this position. The peace- and justice-loving peoples throughout the world also sympathize with it. If the U.S. really wants to put an end to this war which has cost it so many lives and resources and is detrimental to the American honour and prestige, it must give due consideration to this position.

But, so far, there has been no sign of such a desire on the part of the U.S. Though speaking of peace negotiations, it still carries on the war. Since it has been forced to unconditionally stop all bombardments on North Viet Nam, the U.S. has been concentrating its air and naval forces in fierce attacks on South Viet Nam, and the liberated areas in Laos and has been carrying out constant provocative attacks against the Kingdom of Cambodia. The U.S. continues to bring additional satellite troops to South Viet Nam, to throw American, satellite and Saigon troops in bloody sweep operations, step up the so-called "accelerated pacification programme", intensify the sprayings of toxic chemicals, frantic and indiscriminate bombing of populous areas with B.52s, arrest and terrorize people living in towns. It continues to encroach on the sovereignty and threaten the security of the DRVN. The Thieu-Ky-Huong administration has enforced the 10-68 law, proclaimed the "state of war" which has given rise to an extremely strained situation, and has been repressing the urban people's movement demanding peace and freedom. The U.S. and the Saigon administration held up the Paris Conference on Viet Nam which should have been opened on Nov. 6, 1968. Those facts show that the United States and Saigon administration are still very obdurate and bellicose. The U.S. has not yet made up its mind to the renunciation of aggressive schemes against South Viet Nam

We have peace at heart, but it must be peace in independence and freedom. While the U.S. peersues its aggression against South Viet Nam, the South Vietnamese people will keep up their fight.

For the independence and freedom of their Fatherland, and to discharge their sacred obligation towards the world's nations, the South Viet Nam people are determined to fight and to win. They are resolved to fulfil the task of liberating the South, defending the North, achieving peaceful national reunification, as a contribution to the safeguarding of peace in Asia and the world.

The South Viet Nam people are very proud of their tradition of national unity, and of the wholehearted effort of their 17 million northern compatriots who always stand at their sides, to accomplish their duty as the large rear towards the large front.

The South Viet Nam people firmly believe that the peace-, freedom- and justice-loving peoples and governments all over the world will give further and stronger support and assistance to their legitimate struggle. The South Viet Nam people deeply appreciate the courageous opposition of various strata of American people to the U.S. Government's aggression in Viet Nam in the legitimate interests of the two peoples.

The delegation of the South Viet Nam NFL has come to this conference with its just position and sincere desire and hope that the talks will be fruitful.

On behalf of the South Viet Nam NFL, our delegation hereby states its fundamental position and declares its readiness, on the basis of this position, to proceed, together with the other parties, to the work of the Paris Conference on Viet Nam.

STATEMENT BY MINISTER OF STATE XUAN THUY

Head of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam

AFTER the U.S. Government was forced to unconditionally stop all air, naval and artillery bombardments on the entire territory of the DRVN, on November 2, 1968 the Government of the DRVN, after consultation with the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, declared its readiness to participate in a conference consisting of the representatives of the DRVN, the representatives of the South Viet Nam NFL, the representatives of the U.S., and the representatives of the Saigon administration to find a political solution to the Viet Nam problem. This conference should have begun on November 6, 1968. Mrs Nguyen Thi Binh, representative of the South Viet Nam NFL, had arrived in Paris since November 4, 1968, prepared to attend it. But the representatives of the U.S. and the Saigon administration used all sorts of tricks to delay it. The Saigon administration, for over one month, beat about the bush before finally accepting to send its delegates to Paris. When it did send them, together with the U.S., it made use of procedural matters to raise obstacles and prevent the early opening of the Conference.

Now, under the impact of the Vietnamese people's struggle, and the pressure of world public opinion, including the justice- and peace-loving opinion in the U.S., the quadripartite Conference can at long last convene its first plenary session.

On this occasion, I would like to express deep gratitude to the governments and peoples of the socialist countries, of nationalist countries, of justice- and peace-loving countries, to peace and democratic organizations in the world, to scientists, lawyers, cultural workers, religious and other personalities, to various groups of women, of youth, of workers, peasants, students, puplis of all the five continents, for their approval and support to the Vietnamese people's just struggle.

I would like to voice heartfelt thanks to President Charles de Gaulle and to the Government of the French Republic for having supplied all facilities for the current quadripartite Conference as well as for the past official conversations between the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the U S. in Paris. Once again, I also thank the French people and the population of magnificent and hospitable Paris for their support to the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression, for national independence and peace, and for the warm welcome they have always extended to us.

The purpose of the Paris quadripartite Conference is to search for a political solution to the Viet Nam problem on the basis of respect for the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights, namely independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity, recognized by the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam.

If this objective is to be reached, it is necessary to shed light on the origin of the situation and to determine the correct direction and basis for a settlement.

As has been systematically and consistently pointed out by Mr. Tran Buu Kiem, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee, Head of the Foreign Relations Commission, and Chief of the Delegation of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, the U.S. Government, breaking its commitments to the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam, has over more than 14 years been sabotaging these Accords, intervening in, and committing aggression against, South Viet Nam. It has set up in South Viet Nam a separate artificial state and U.S.-paid puppet administration to turn South Viet Nam into a U.S. neo-colony and military base and to prolong the partition of Viet Nam. Since early 1965, the U.S. has been bringing into South Viet Nam expeditionary troops from the U.S. and from U.S. satellite countries to intensify the war of aggression there. It also launched a war of destruction against the DRVN with its air and naval forces and artillery, thus extending U.S. aggression to the whole of Viet Nam and piling crimes against the people of the two zones of Viet Nam.

However, U.S. bombs and shells have not been able to subdue the heroic Vietnamese people. For the independence and freedom of their Fatherland, to fulfil their obligations toward other peoples struggling for self-liberation, and for peace in Indo-China, South-East Asia and the world, the Vietnamese people have been resisting with bravery and determination U.S. aggression and recording ever greater successes in both zones.

As U.S. aggression is precisely the deep root and immediate cause of the present serious situation in Viet Nam, any sound political solution of the Viet Nam problem must be based

on the cessation of the U.S. aggression and the respect of the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights.

In this spirit, on April 8, 1965, the Government of the DRVN made public its four points as follows:

1. Reaffirmation of the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people: peace, independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrety. In accordance with the Geneva Agreements, the U.S. Government must withdraw from South Viet Nam all U.S. troops, military personnel and weapons of all kinds, dismantle all U.S. bases there and cancel its "military alliance" with South Viet Nam. It must end its policy of intervention and aggression in South Viet Nam. In accordance with the Geneva Agreements, the U.S. government must stop its acts of war against North Viet Nam, completely cease all encroachments on the territory and infringements upon the sovereignty of the DRVN.

2. Pending the peaceful reunification of Viet Nam, and while Viet Nam is still temporarily divided into two zones, the military provisions of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam must be strictly respected: the two zones must refrain from joining any military alliance with foreign countries, there must be no foreign bases, troops and military personnel on their respective territory.

3. The internal affairs of South Viet Nam must be settled by the South Viet Nam people themselves, in accordance with the Political Programme of the South Viet Nam NFL without foreign interference.

4. The peaceful reunification of Viet Nam is to be settled by the Vietnamese people in both zones, without foreign interference.

In its November 2, 1968 statement, the Government of the DRVN reaffirmed the abovementioned four points because they are still valid for the present situation of Viet Nam.

Regarding the problem of South Viet Nam in particular, the South Viet Nam NFL, in its Political Programme, has set the tasks and objectives of the South Viet Nam people, i.e. "to unite the entire people, resolutely defeat the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression, overthrow the Saigon puppet administration, form a broad democratic national union government, build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous South Viet Nam, and ultimately achieve peaceful national reunification".

On November 3, 1968, the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam NFL suggested a five-point political solution to the South Viet Nam problem which Mr. Tran Buu Kiem, Chief of the South Viet Nam NFL delegation to the Paris Conference, has recalled in his statement.

The Government of the DRVN fully approves and unreservedly supports the South Viet Nam NFL's Political Programme and its proposed five-point solution to the South Viet Nam problem.

Everybody can see the obvious soundness of the Vietnamese people's position. The DRVN Government's four points, the South Viet Nam NFL's Political Programme and its five-point solution of the South Viet Nam problem meet the Vietnamese people's legitimate aspirations and conform to the basic principles of the Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam, i.e. independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity of Viet Nam. This most sensible and reasonable position has been approved and warmly supported by many governments and peace and justice-loving peoples in he world. It is a sound basis for the settlement of the Viet Nam issue.

Just as in the recent conversations between the DRVN and the U.S., we participate in the quadripartite Conference with goodwill and seriousness of purpose. But, whether the Paris Conference on Viet Nam will progress or not, whether it will answer the expectations of the peace- and justice-loving opinion in the world or not, depends on the U.S Government's goodwill or lack of goodwill and on its seriousness or lack of seriousness.

While making protestations of "goodwill" and "peace", it continues its reconnaissance flights over North Viet Nam and its bombing raids against many populated areas in Nghe An, Ha Tinh, Quang Binh provinces and the Vinh Linh region, grossly violating the sovereignty and threatening the security of the DRVN and challenging the most elementary principles of international law. In the meantime, in South Viet Nam, as has been pointed out by the Chief of the South Viet Nam NFL delegation, the U.S. and the Saigon administration have been feverishly intensifying the war and committing new monstrous crimes against the South Viet Nam people. The U.S. has also been stepping up its bombardments against the liberated areas under control of the Lao patriotic forces, carrying on the sabotage of the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos, and violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cambodia. These activities have aroused the indignation of all the Indochinese peoples and brought them closer in their anti-U.S. front.

U.S. kept-up violations of the sovereignty and threats to the security of the DRVN, intensification of the war of aggression in South Viet Nam, maintenance of the Saigon administration as an instrument to carry out neo-colonialism in South

Viet Nam, show that it has not matched its deeds with its words and does not really want a peaceful settlement of the Viet Nam problem.

Until the U.S ends its aggression in Viet Nam, the 31 million Vietnamese, united as one man, will go on fighting to win total victory, in implementation of President Ho Chi Minh's November 3, 1968 appeal: "To strengthen our determination to fight and to win, to liberate the South, to defend the North, and to achieve the ultimate peaceful reunification of the country".

In order that the Conference produces good results, I deem it necessary to reaffirm that:

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation is the organizer and the leader of the South Viet Nam against U.S. aggression for national salvation, has liberated four-fifths of South Viet Nam territory with an eleven million population, possesses powerful armed forces, has set up democratically elected administrative organs in almost all regions, and enjoys great prestige at home and abroad. It is the authentic representative of the South Viet Nam people. Its delegation to the Paris Conference on Viet Nam is an independent one equal in rights to the other delegations and competent to settle all problems regarding South Viet Nam.

I fully agree with the statement made by the chief of the South Viet Nam NFL delegation: "If the U.S. Government really wants to find a political solution to the South Viet Nam problem, it must enter into serious talks with the South Viet Nam NFL".

On the other hand the Saigon administration is set up by the U.S. to carry out U.S. neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam. The U.S. government often claims that the Saigon régime is a "legal" and "constitutional" one. But the Vietnamese people and the whole world know that it is an illegal, fraudulent, and deceitful one, that it serves only the U.S. aggressors' interests and represents no one. The presence of the delegates of the Saigon administration at this conference does not imply its recognition by the DRVN.

On U.S. orders, it is pursuing a most reactionary and bellicose policy. It is stepping up sweeps to massacre the people, to destroy the villages and to concentrate the population so as to carry out more effectively its repressive and coercitive measures. In areas still under the temporary control of the U.S. and the Saigon administration, it harshly persecutes people from all strata of the population, workers, peasants, tradesmen, industrialists, intellectuals, students, pupils, followers of various religions, anyone who does not share its political views. It tramples underfoot all democratic liberties, upsets the South Viet Nam people's life, and stubbornly suppresses their aspirations to peace and neutrality. It sought every possible means to delay this Conference and to hinder the search for a peaceful solution to the Viet Nam problem. Such an administration with such a policy it but an obstacle to the progress of these talks. That is why the South Viet Nam people have been pushing up their actions for the removal of the Nguyen Van Thieu, Nguyen Cao Ky, Tran Van Huong Saigon administration, for the formation of a "cabinet for the restoration of peace" which will be ready to engage in negotiations at this quadripartite conference with the NFL as an independent and equal party, fully qualified to find a political solution to bring about independence, peace, and neutrality to South Viet Nam. This is a very reasonable and pressing demand which is warmly supported by peace- and democracy-loving public opinion.

If a correct political solution is to be found for the Viet Nam problem, the four points of the DRVN Government and the five points of the South Viet Nam NFL must be taken as a basis.

If the U.S. Government is sincerely desirous to achieve "an honourable peace" as they often claim, they must take into consideration and meet the following legitimate demands of the Vietnamese people:

1. The U.S. Government must stop its war of aggression against Viet Nam. It must put a final end to all infringements of the sovereignty, and threats to the security, of the DRVN.

2. It must withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops from South Viet Nam, dismantle all U.S. military bases in South Viet Nam.

3. The internal affairs of South Viet Nam must be settled by the South Viet Nam people themselves in accordance with the South Viet Nam NFL Political Programme, without foreign interference.

4. The reunification of Viet Nam must be settled by the population of the two zones North and South, free from outside intervention.

These are most legitimate demands which are in conformity not only with the interests of the Vietnamese people in the two zones North and South, but also with the genuine interests of the American people and with that of peace in Indo-China, South-East Asia, and the world.